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STUDIES IN GERMANIC STRONG VERBS. I

These studies, which are preliminary to a book on *Germanic Strong Verbs* to be published later, will discuss strong verbs that have not been fully or satisfactorily explained. No distinction is here made between originally strong verbs and those that became strong by analogy.

1. BĪDAN

Goth. *beidan* c. gen. 'auf etwas warten, etwas erwarten,' *gabeidan* tr. 'dulden, ertragen,' ON. *bīða* 'warten; c. gen. warten auf jemand oder auf etwas; tr. durch Warten erlangen, erreichen; erdulden, ertragen,' etc., have long been connected with Gk. *πειθω*, Lat. *fīdo*. But this connection has of late been doubted. So Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*² 26; Walde, *Et. Wb.* 222, who says: "Zweifelhaft ist die Zugehörigkeit von got. *beidan* 'erwarten' . . . wegen der anzunehmenden Bedeutungsentwicklung von 'sich fügen, machen,' intr. 'sich fügen,' zu 'warten.'" If we had to assume such a development in meaning, connection between *beidan* and *πειθω* would be more than doubtful.

To get at the primary meaning of Germ. *bīdan*, let us see how it is used: (1) Absolutely meaning 'wait, remain, continue;' (2) with gen. or prep. 'await, wait for;' (3) tr. 'endure, bear.' The transitive meaning is especially instructive: Goth. *gabeidan* 'ὑπομένειν, ertragen,' ON. *bīða* 'erlangen; ertragen,' OE. *bīdan* 'endure,' MHG. *gebīten* 'erhalten, bewahren.' Notice also OE. *bīd* 'halt,' *on bīd wrecan* 'make to halt, bring to bay,' MHG. *bit(e)* 'Stillhalten, Verweilen,' *beite* 'Hinhalten, Zögern,' etc.

From this we may infer for *bīdan* the primary meaning 'hold,' whence tr. 'hold, bear, endure, sustinere, ertragen; intr. hold, hold on, hinhalten, still halten.' A striking parallel between the use of Lat. *sustinere* and *bīdan* occurs in OLFr. Psalm 68, 21: *ik beid, thie samon gidruovit uuirthi, inde ne was*, which translates *sustinui, qui simul contristaretur, et non fuit*. Compare also OHG. *haltan* 'halten, erhalten, festhalten; intr. still halten.'

As *halten* comes from the primary meaning *drive*: Skt. *kaláyati* 'treibt, hält, trägt,' Gk. *κέλλω* 'drive,' *κέλομαι* 'urge on,' etc.; so also Germ. *bīdan* 'halten, erhalten, ertragen; still halten, verweilen, warten' goes back to a base *bheidh-* 'drive, urge,' which is the underlying meaning in Gk. *πείθω*. For it is evident from the way in which *πείθω* is used that it could not have meant originally either 'persuade' or 'überrede,' but rather 'urge, impel, compel, convince, force.' E. g. 'impel, stir up' (*θυέλλας*), Il. 15, 26; 'force, compel, make to obey,' Il. 9, 345, etc. From 'urge, compel' naturally came 'prevail on, convince, cause to yield, persuade,' and in the passive, 'yield, comply, obey, be convinced, believe, trust, etc.'

From *πείθω* 'impel, compel, convince, persuade' we certainly do not need to separate Goth. *baidjan* 'zwingen, gebieten,' ON. *beida* 'nötigen, auffordern; bitten, begehren,' OE. *bædan* 'compel; urge on, incite; solicit, require; afflict, repress,' OHG. *beiten* 'antreiben, drängen; fordern; führen; refl. c. gen. wagen; intr. sich drängen,' ChSl. *běditi* 'zwingen,' *běda* 'Not,' Alb. *bë* 'Eid, Schwur,' with which compare Lat. *foedus* 'league, compact,' and OE. *bād* 'pledge, thing distrained.'

2. BRĪDAN

MHG. **brīden* 'flechten, weben' is usually assumed on account of the pp. *gebrīten*, *gebreten* (cf. Wilmanns, *DGr.* I, 38; Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*^b 69, etc.). The inf. is better written **brīten*, if indeed we may assume any inf. at all. For the word is identical with OHG. *bretten* 'stringere, ziehen, zücken; weben,' OS. *bregdan* 'flechten,' etc. MHG. **brīden* or **brīten* corresponds to OFries. *brīda* 'ziehen' from **brigdan*. The loss of *g* with lengthening of *i* to *ī* occurs also in OE. *brīdel*, OHG. *brīdel*, MHG. *brīdel*, *brītel* 'Zügel' beside OHG. *brittil* 'Zügel,' *brittolōn* 'frenare.'

3. DĪKAN

MHG. *tīchen* 'schaffen, treiben, ins Werk setzen, fördern; büssen,' *ertīchen* 'büssen.' This corresponds to the MLG. weak verb *dīken* 'büssen, wieder gut machen.' Whether this verb was originally strong or weak it is impossible to tell. Here probably

belong OHG. *tihhtōn*, MHG. *tihten* 'erfinden und schaffen, hervorbringen, ersinnen, ins Werk setzen, anstiften, machen, abfassen, dichten,' OE. *dihtan* 'direct, command, arrange; compose, write,' *diht* 'direction, command; arranging, ordering; administration, office, action, conduct; purpose, intention,' MDu., MLG. *dichten*, whence ON. *dikta* 'dichten, ersinnen.' The wide variety of meanings in these words, and the close similarity with MHG. *tichen* point to Germ. origin with later confusion with Lat. *dictāre*, which probably took its late meaning 'verfassen' from the Germ.

The base *dheig-* of the above is a byform of *dheigh-* in Goth. *digan* 'kneten, aus Thon formen.' Compare especially Lat. *fungo* 'form, fashion, make; mold; adorn, dress, arrange, direct; devise, contrive, invent, feign, etc.' These meanings are strikingly similar to those of MHG. *tichen* and *tihten*. It is not impossible that Lat. *fungo* represents both *dheigh-* and *dheig-*.

4. FLĪHWAN, FLĪHAN

OS. **flīhan* 'versöhnen' may be assumed from *gīflīhid* C 1460, *geflīt* M 1460, and from the corresponding strong verb in MLG. *vliēn*, *vliēgen* 'ordnen, fügen, einrichten, in die Reihe bringen, schichtweise legen, stellen, setzen; Streitende versöhnen, einen Streit schlichten, etc.,' NHG. (north German) *fleihen* 'put in order, arrange, fold.' Here belong MLG. *vlege* 'Ordnung, Einrichtung, Schlichtung, Beilegung eines Zwistes; Schmückung, Putz,' MHG. *vlie* 'Ordnung,' ON. *fló* 'Schicht' from **flaihwō* or *flai(g)wō*, *flōia* 'schichtweise belegen.' Compare Gk. *πλίσσω* 'stretch out, stride,' *πλῆξω* 'a stretching out; span-measure; striding,' ON. *flika* 'stretch out,' base *pleik*, *pleig-* 'stretch out, spread out: put in order, arrange, etc.'

This is probably a derivative of a simpler base *plei-* in Lith. *atsi-plaitau* 'sich breit machen,' Lett. *plītēt* 'plätten, schlagen,' Lith. *plýnas* 'eben, frei,' *plýne*, *pleine* 'eine weite, baumlose Ebene.' A synonymous base *pelā-* also occurs.

5. FLĪTAN

OE. *flitan* 'contend, struggle, quarrel,' OS. *flitan* 'wetteifern,' OHG. *flīzan* 'eifrig sein, Fleiss und Sorgfalt anwenden, sich

befleißigen' etc., may be referred to a base *pleid-* 'stretch out: aim at, strive for, contend, etc.,' from *plei-* in Lith. *atsi-plaitau* 'sich breit machen,' Gk. *πλίσσω* 'stretch out, stride,' ON. *flika* 'ausspannen, ausdehnen; prahlen,' etc. (cf. no. 4). That *plei-* 'stretch out' should develop in opposite directions is nothing unusual. For this change in meaning compare Lat. *tendo* 'stretch, stretch out: aim, strive, go; exert oneself in opposition, strive, try, contend,' *contendo* 'stretch out, strain: strive, dispute, fight, vie with;' Gk. *ῥέγω* 'stretch, stretch out: stride; reach for, desire; reach at, aim a blow at,' Lat. *rego* 'guide, conduct, direct; sway, rule,' Av. *rāzayeiti* 'ordnet.' These combine the meanings in Gk. *πλίσσω* 'stretch out, stride,' *διαπλίσσω* 'stretch out, spread out, unfold, mid. stride, stalk,' MLG. *vlien* 'ordnen, einrichten, schlichten' and in OE. *flitan* 'contendere,' etc.

The connection of *flitan*, assuming a pre-Germ. base **tleid-*, with Lat. *stlis* 'strife, dispute' (cf. author, *Americana Germanica* III, 315) I long ago discarded.

6. GLĪPAN

Sw. dial. *glīpa* 'be open,' MHG. *glīfen* 'schräge, abschüssig sein' are from a Germ. strong verb **glīpan* 'slip, slant; fall away, sink, open.' Related words are Sw. dial. *glip* 'gap, opening, chasm,' Norw. dial. *glīp*, *glīpa* 'opening,' ON. *gleipa* 'schwätzen,' i. e. 'klaffen,' MLG. *glepe*, *glippe* 'Ritze, Spalt,' *glippen* 'gleiten, glipfen,' *glipperich*, *glibberich* 'schlüpfrig,' *glepe*, *gleppe*, MHG. *gleif* 'schief, schräge,' *gleif* 'das Abschüssige,' *gleifen* 'schräge sein, hin und her irren,' *glipfen* 'gleiten,' NE. *glīb*, etc.

According to Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* I, 235, these are related to Germ. *slīpan* 'slip.' Aside from the fact that this connection is based on a theory that is unproved and unprovable, Germ. *slīpan* may be referred to a base *selēi-* in Lith. *selēti* 'schleichen,' *selejimas* 'das Schleichen,' Ir. *slemain* 'lubricus,' OE. *slīm* 'slime,' Lett. *slīpt* 'gleiten, schief werden,' NE. dial. *slive* 'sneak,' OHG. *slīhhan* 'schleichen,' Lith. *slėkas* 'Regenwurm,' OE. *slīdan* 'slide,' etc. (cf. author *AJP.* 24, 45 ff.).

For Germ. *glīpan* we may assume a base *ghlei-* on account of OE. *glīdan* 'glide,' etc., Norw. dial. *gleina* 'open place,' which, in the developed meaning 'fall away, give way, become soft' is in Gk. *χλῖω* 'become soft or warm, be delicate, luxuriate,' *χλιδή* 'softness, delicacy, luxury, voluptuousness,' *χλιδάω* 'be soft or delicate, live softly, revel,' *χλιδανός* 'soft, delicate, voluptuous,' etc. These meanings are based on 'softness' not 'warmness,' the latter coming from the former. So they cannot be connected with OS. *glītan* 'gleissen,' as is frequently done.

The base *ghlei-* 'slip, fall away,' etc., comes perhaps from *gha**l-** in Gk. *χαλάω* 'slacken, loosen; let down, let sink; become slack; gape open, stand open; leave off, cease from; give way or yield to, be indulgent to,' etc., *χαλαρός* 'slack, loose,' Ir. *galar* 'Krankheit, Kummer,' ON. *galle* 'Fehler, Mangel, Schaden,' *glata* 'verlieren, verderben,' OE. *gylt* 'fault, guilt,' Lith. *glèbti* 'weich werden, zerfließen,' ON. *glap* 'flaw,' *glópr* 'idiot,' *glópr* 'crime,' etc. (cf. IE. *a**: *aⁱ*: *a^u* 108).

7. HRĪTAN: RĪTAN: WRĪTAN

Germ. *hrītan* and *wrītan* are well authenticated; **rītan* is doubtful but possible. With initial *hr-* occurs OS. *hrītan* 'schreiben.' Identical with this may be MLG., MDu. *rīten* 'reissen' (by the side of MLG. *wrīten* 'ritzen, schreiben'), NFries. *rīt* 'reissen,' OHG. *rīzan* 'reissen' (though this may be for **wrīz-zan*). To these may be related ON. *rīsta* 'ritzen' (which may have lost initial *h-* on account of the synonymous *rīta*), OSw. *rīsta*, MLG. *rīsten* 'ritzen' (neither of which could have had initial *wr-*, but both could come from *hr-*), OSw. *rēta* 'reizen,' OHG. *reizzen, reizen*.

Germ. *hrītan* is from a pre-Germ. base *qrei-d-*, with which compare Gk. *δια-κριδόν* 'separately,' *κρίνω* 'separate, distinguish,' *κείρω* 'cut,' ChSl. *kroiti* 'schneiden,' Lett. *krijāt* 'schinden,' OE. *hrīcian* 'cut, cut to pieces,' etc. (IE. *a**: *aⁱ*: *a^u* 88).

Germ. *wrītan* 'ritzen, schreiben' occurs in OE., OS. *wrītan*, MLG. *wrīten*, OFries. *wrīta*, and probably in ON. *rīta*, OHG. *rīzan*. Related are Goth. *writs* 'Strich,' OE. *writ*, ON. *rit*

'Schreiben, Schrift,' OHG. *riz* 'Strich, Buchstabe,' ON. *reitr*, OSw. *vrēter* 'Streifen.' Doubtful are ON. *reita*, OHG. *reizen* 'reizen' on account of OSw. *rēta* 'reizen,' and ON. *rista* 'ritzen' on account of OSw. *rīsta*, MLG. *risten* 'ritzen.'

Germ. *writan* is from a base *ureid-*, which probably meant 'move to and fro, turn, rub, etc.' Compare early LRh. (ndrh.) *writen* 'drehen, verdrehen,' Du. *wrijten*, and for meaning OHG. (*w*)*riban*, MHG. *riben* 'reibend wenden oder drehen, reiben, schminken,' MLG. *wriven* 'reiben, wischen, scheuern, schleifen, zerreiben;' OHG. *drāen* 'drehen,' Gk. *τείρω* 'reibe auf.'

A Germ. **ritan* may have occurred which is possibly represented in MLG. *riten*, MDu. *riten*, NFries *rit*, OHG. *rizan* 'reisen.' Of these the first three could represent Germ. **hrītan* (OS. *hrītan*), or **rītan*; the last **rītan*, **hrītan*, or **writan*. ON. *rista* might go back to **rītan* or **writan*, and if *rista* is related, it seems to point to the former. For if this were from **wristan*, we should expect OSw. **vrīsta*, not *rīsta*, the form that actually occurs. On the other hand Germ. **hrīstan* would regularly give ON. **hrīsta*, OSw. *rīsta*. Similarly MLG. *risten* may have had initial Germ. *r-* (or *hr-*) but hardly *wr-*. So also ON. *reita*, OSw. *rēta*, OHG. *reizen* give no difficulty when referred to **raitjan*. But **wraitjan* would give OSw. **vrēta*; and **hraitjan*, ON. **hreita* and, if early enough, OHG. **hreizzen*. On the whole, therefore, it is quite probable that a Germ. **rītan* occurred. In some dialects this would fall together with *writan*, in others with *hrītan*.

Germ. **rītan* would go back to a base *rei-d-*, with which compare *rei-p-* in ON. *rīfa* 'reissen, zerreissen' (whence NE. *rive*), OSw. *rīva*, OFries. *rīva* 'reissen,' etc., Gk. *ἐρείπω* 'throw or tear down,' Lat. *rīpa*, etc.; *rei-b-* in OE. *rīpan* 'reap,' Norw. *ripa* 'ritzen;' *rei-k-* in Skt. *riçāti* 'rupft, reisst ab,' Gk. *ἐρείκω* 'break, tear.' All of these may come from the base *rei-* in Skt. *rināti* 'lässt laufen, löst ab,' etc. A base *reid-*, with which we may compare Germ. **rītan*, and ON. *reita*, OSw. *rēta*, OHG. *reizen*, *reizzen*, is in Gk. *ἐρείδω* 'press against, lean against; prop up; press hard upon; dash, hurl, etc.' Compare no. 9.

8. LĪMAN

MHG. *ent-līmen* 'sich ablösen, ablassen von' is probably not from **līmen* 'sich fest anschliessen' as given by Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.* 1922 (which would connect it directly with *līmen* 'zusammenleimen, vereinigen'), but from **līmen* 'weichen.' Such a meaning best explains the use in such expressions as *sīn arger mūt im niht entleim; im entleim diu kraft*. Compare Lat. *limus* 'seitwärts abbiegend, schief,' OE. *lim* 'limb,' ON. *lim* 'Zweig,' *limr* 'Glieder; Zweig,' base *lei-* in Goth. *aftinnan* 'fortgehen, weichen,' Gk. *λίναμαι* *τρέπομαι* (Hesych.), *λιδίζομαι* 'weiche aus, gleite aus, sinke,' Skt. *lināti*, *lāyatē* 'schmiegt sich an, kauert, verschwindet,' etc.

9. RĪPAN

ON. *rīða* 'bestreichen, beschmieren' is usually supposed to be the same as *rīða* 'drehen, winden, flechten, binden,' OSw. *vrīþa* 'drehen,' OE. *wrīþan* 'twist, bind,' etc. I refer it rather to a base *rei-*, and compare Skt. *rīti-ṣ* 'Strom, Lauf, Strich; Art, Weise,' OE. *rīþ* 'stream,' OLFr. *rīth* 'Bach,' MLG. *rīde* 'Bach, Graben,' Lat. *rītus* 'way, manner, rite,' *ir-rīto* 'incite, excite; move, stir up,' Skt. *rināti* 'lässt fließen, lässt laufen,' ChSl. *rināti*, *rījati* 'stossen, fließen,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 16, 311).

10. SKĪBAN

MHG. *schīben* 'rollend fortbewegen, rollen lassen, wälzen, drehen, wenden, schieben; intr. rollen, sich wenden,' *beschīben* 'sich auf etwas wälzen; einem etwas zuwenden, zuteilen,' NHG. Bav. *scheiben* are plainly related to MHG. *schībe*, OHG. *skība* 'Scheibe, Kugel, Walze, Rolle, Rad, Kreis,' OLG. *skība* 'sphaera,' ON. *skīfa* 'Scheibe, Schnitte,' ME. *schīve* 'disk,' Gk. *σκοῖπος* 'potter's wheel.'

The primary meaning of this group of words is not 'cut' but 'turn, roll, etc.' From this came various words for 'roller, ball, wheel, disk, etc.,' a diminutive of which appears in OHG. *skivaro* 'Steinsplitter,' MLG. *schiver* 'Schindel,' NE. *shiver* 'Splitter,' whence *shiver* 'zersplittern.' Or OHG. *skivaro*, etc., may belong rather to ChSl. *scēpiti*, *cēpiti* 'spalten.' In this case they must

be separated from ON. *skifa* 'in Schnitten schneiden,' which is better taken with *skifa* 'Scheibe, Schnitte.'

The earlier meaning 'turn, roll; shove, etc.,' underlies the following: OHG. *beskīben* 'disponere,' MLG. *schīven* 'nach Weise einer Scheibe bewegen, rollen; zerquetschen, pilare, contundere,' *schivelen* 'schwanken, auf die andere Seite treten, abfallen; unredlich handeln, intrigieren,' NE. *shiver* 'schauern, zittern' (these last two frequentatives), ON. *skeifr*, OE. *scāf*, MLG. *schēf*, MHG. *schief*, 'schief.' ON. *skeifr*, etc., Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 154, compares with Lith. *i skybei* (adv.) 'schief,' Lett. *schkībs* 'schief,' *schkēbt* 'kippen,' which would imply a base *sqeibh-*.

In Gk. occur synonymous bases *sqeip-*, *sqeibh-*: *σκίπτω*, *σκήπτω* 'prop against; crouch,' *ἐνσκήπτω* 'dash in or upon,' *σκιμμάζω*, *σκιμβάζω*, *κιμβάζω* 'halt, limp, crouch,' *σκιμβός* 'halt, limping,' *σκιφός* 'niggardly, miserly.' Compare OE. *hnīgan* 'bend down,' *hnāg* 'bowed down, prostrate; contemptible; niggardly.'

11. SMĪTAN

This word occurs with the greatest variety of meanings: NHG. *schmeissen*, MHG. *smīzen* 'streichen, schlagen,' NE. *smite*, OE. *smītan* 'daub, smear; pollute,' Norw. dial. *smīta* 'kleben; refl. wegschleichen,' Sw. *smīta* 'schleichen, sich drücken, sich davonmachen,' etc. These are from a pre-Germ. base *smei-d-* 'drücken, reiben, streichen, schmieren, etc.; sich drücken, schleichen, etc.,' which is from *smēi-* in Gk. *σμήν*, *σμήχω*, *σμόςχω* (cf. Schade, *Wb.* 835; Persson, *Studien* 183).

Derivatives of the same base *smei-* are NHG. *schmeichen* 'smooth, plane,' Norw. *smika* 'streichen, glätten,' Sw. *smeka* 'streicheln, hätscheln, liebkosten,' MDu., MLG. *smēken*, MHG. *smeichen*, *smeicheln* 'schmeicheln.'

Similarly Germ. *smītan* 'streichen, etc.,' may be compared with Lett. *smaidīt* 'schmeicheln.' But this is regarded as related to Lett. *smaida* 'Lächeln,' Gk. *μειδάω* 'smile,' derivatives of the base *smei-* in Skt. *smāyatē* 'lächelt, lächelt verschämt, errötet,' *vi-smāyatē* 'wird betroffen, bestürzt,' *smaya-s* 'Staunen, Verwunderung; Hochmut, Stolz,' ChSl. *směja se*, Lett. *smeiju* 'lache,' Lat. *mīrus*, etc. In these words we have the intransitive and

passive meanings of *smei-*. Skt. *smaya-s* is especially instructive, as it points to the primary meaning 'drawing back,' which describes both 'astonishment, wonder, shyness,' and 'aloofness, haughtiness.' Compare especially Sw. *småta* 'sich drücken, sich davon machen' and NHG. *verschmützt*, Dan. *smette* 'schlüpfen.'

A similar development in meaning is seen in the following: NHG. dial. *schmorkeln* 'schrumpfen,' OE. *smearcian* 'smile,' NE. *smirk* 'schmunzeln.'—Lith. *smaukiù* 'glatt oder gleitend streifen,' MHG. *smiegen* 'sich eng an etwas drücken, sich zusammenziehen, ducken,' NE. *smug* 'smooth, sleek; unctuous; self-satisfied.'—Scotch *smule*, *smuil* 'schleichen; schmeicheln,' MHG. *smollen* 'schmollen; schmunzeln,' *smielen* 'lächeln:' Gk. *σμοιός*, *σμυός* 'mürrisch:' MHG. *smieren* 'lächeln.'—MHG. *smutzen* 'streichen; schlagen; beflecken,' MLG. *smotteren* 'schmeicheln, lieblosen,' MHG. *smutzen*, *smutzern*, *smunzeln* 'schmunzeln.'

12. STRĪDAN

This verb occurs in a twofold sense represented by OE. *strīdan* 'stride' and OHG. *strītan* 'streiten.' That these meanings are easily combined I have shown in *PBB.* 24, 532.¹

The old connection of OHG. *strīt* 'Streit' with Lat. (*st*)*līs* (Vaniček 329) may be phonetically possible as Uhlenbeek, *PBB.* 20, 328 f., and Walde, *Et. Wb.* 344, maintain. But before we admit this comparison, it should be proved conclusively that Germ. *str-* may come from IE. *stl-*, and that the meaning of Lat. *līs* and OHG. *strīt* actually correspond.

In the sense 'strive, contend' the word occurs strong as follows: OSw. *strīþa* 'streiten' (usually weak), OFries. *strīða*, MDu. *strīden* 'streiten,' OLFr. *withar-strīdan* 'widerstreiten, zornig, erbittert sein,' MLG. *strīden* (also wk. like OS. *strīdian*), OHG. *strītan*, MHG. *strīten* 'kämpfen, streiten; sich eifrig bemühen.' Related to these are ON. *strīð* 'Streit, Kummer,' *strīða* 'streiten; plagen, reizen,' *strīðr* 'streitsüchtig, rauh, streng, grimmig,' Dan. *strid* 'rauh, struppig; hart, streng, trotzig,' OS. *strīd* 'Streit, Eifer,' OHG. *ein-strīti* 'widerspenstig,' etc.

¹ The connection between *stride* and *streiten* had been given before by Skeat, *Et. Dict.*, and has been adopted by Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* II, 307.

In all these forms there is no evidence of a Germ. *þ*. If the *d* of Germ. *strīdan* goes back to an IE. *t*, then the verb must be an aorist-present **strītó* or **srītó* or ***stlītó*. Admitting that it is an aorist-present, it is still strange that no noun or adjective occurs with Germ. *þ*. The probabilities are therefore that the verb had IE. *dh*, and for that reason, if for no other, could not be directly compared with Lat. *līs*.

Both *stride* and *streiten* may be referred to a pre-Germ. base *streidh-* 'stretch out, stand out stiffly,' whence 'stride, straddle' and 'strive, struggle,' with which compare *streid-* in ON. *strita* 'zerren, reissen,' *stritask*, *streitask* 'sich anstrengen, sich sträuben,' *streita* 'Anstrengung,' *strit* 'schwere Arbeit.' These seem to come from a base *sterei-*: OE. *strimende* 'resisting; striving.' Lith. *strainūs* 'widerspenstig in Worten,' *pasistraĩnyju* 'streben, sich anstemmen;' Gk. *στέριφος, στριφνός* 'starr, hart, fest,' early Du. *strijven* 'streben, streiten,' OHG. **strīban*, whence OFrench *estriver*, NE. *strive* 'streben, streiten.' Synonymous bases *sterex-* and *stereux-* occur. Compare especially *streud-*, which shows the same double development as in *stride*, *streiten*: OE. *strūtian* 'stand out stiffly, be rigid,' NE. *strut* 'sich spreizen, stolzieren,' MHG. *strotzen*, *striuzen* 'sträuben, spreizen,' *strüz* 'Widerstand, Streit.' For meaning compare no. 5.

13. SWĪGAN

OSw. *swīgha* 'sich neigen,' Sw. dial. *sviga* (*sveg*) 'sich biegen, schwanken, nachgeben,' MDu. *swīghen*, MLG. *swīgen* 'schweigen,' MHG. *swīgen* 'schweigen, verstummen' (also weak like OHG. *swīgēn*) etc.: ON. *suig*. 'bend, curve, circuit,' *suige*, *sueigr* 'switch,' *sueigia* 'bow, bend:' Lith. *svaĩgti* 'schwindelig werden,' *svaiginėti* 'umherschwanken,' Russ. *svigat* 'bummeln, sich herumtreiben' (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* xvi, 20).

According to Persson, *Studien* 192 f., Lith. *svaĩgti* has IE. *g* not *gh*, and is related to OE. *swīcan* 'gehen, schweifen, weichen,' etc.; and Sw. dial. *sviga* is from pre-Germ. **suīkó*. In that case we may compare NIce. *svia* 'weichen,' and in any case refer all to a base *suei-* (*id. ibid.*).

The same change of meaning as in the above is seen also in

the following derivatives of *suei-*: MHG. *swīmen* 'schwanken, schweben,' *verswīmen* 'verschwinden,' MLG. *swīmen* 'schwindelig sein, betäubt werden,' MDu. *swīmen*, *zwīmen* 'abnehmen, betäubt werden, in Ohnmacht fallen,' etc. — MHG. *swīnen* 'abnehmen, dahinschwinden; abmagern, welken; in Ohnmacht fallen.' — ON. *sulfa* 'schweben, schwanken,' *sulfask* 'zurückweichen von,' Goth. *sweiban* 'ablassen, aufhören.' OHG. *swiftōn* 'stille sein.' For other words with a similar change in meaning see *Color-Names and their Congeners* 33 ff.

14. TWIPAN

MLG. *twīden* 'willfahren, gewähren, bewilligen, erhören' is conjugated strong and weak. It corresponds to a weak verb in MHG. *zwīden* (*zwīdigen*, *zwīgen*) 'willfahren, gewähren, erhören,' *bezwīdegen* 'gewähren, bestätigen;' *zwīdesal* 'Gewährung, Geschenk,' MLG. *twīdinge* 'Gewährung,' *twīder* 'Gewährer, Erhörer,' *getwede* 'willfährig,' MG. *getwedic* 'zahn, willfährig,' *getwedigen* 'zahn, willfährig machen,' OE. *lang-twīdig* 'granted for a long time.'

These are from a pre-Germ. base **dwei-to-*, which we may compare with *dwei-* in Lat. *beo* 'gladden, rejoice, refresh; present with, reward with, enrich,' a derivative of *due-* in Lat. *bonus* 'good,' Skt. *dūvas* 'Ehrerweisung,' *duvasyāti* 'ehrt, verehrt, erkennt an, belohnt,' and in OS. *tugiðon*, *tuidon* 'gewähren,' OE. *tygbian*, *tībian* 'grant.'

To this base may also belong ON. *týja* 'helfen, nützen' (confused with *tíða*), *full-týja* 'ausreichende Hilfe gewähren,' OE. *tēon* 'furnish; adorn,' *ful-tum*, *-tēam* 'help,' *geþieme* 'suitable,' OLG. *tōmig* 'ziemlich, schicklich,' MLG. *tōmen* 'schmücken, zieren,' Du. *tooi* 'Schmuck,' OE. *tūcian* 'adorn' (cf. IE. *a^s:* *aⁱ:* *a^u:* 70). Further connection with Goth. *taujan* 'machen, tun,' OHG. *zouwen* 'fertig machen, bereiten,' *zawēn* 'von staten gehen, gelingen,' Skt. *duvās* 'hinausstrebend,' etc., is doubtful though possible (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 128).

15. DWITAN

OE. *pwītan* 'cut, shave off,' *ā-pwītan* 'disappoint, frustrari,' OFries. **thwīta*, NFries. *twit* 'schneiden, schnitzen,' pre-Germ.

base *tueid-*, also in OE. *geþwit* 'chip,' ON. *þuite* 'Stein,' *þueita* 'kleine Axt,' *þueita* 'schleudern, werfen.' These are from the base *tuei-* in Lith. *tvỹczyju* 'schlage, stäupe,' *tvóju* 'prügele,' *tvýskinu* 'klopfe gewaltig an,' *tvìska* 'flackert, blitzt,' Gk. *σειώ* 'swing, shake,' Skt. *tviṣáti* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, ist erregt; funkelt, glänzt.'

FRANCIS A. WOOD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO